

EXHIBIT L

INTRODUCTION

HERSHANA GHOO RHOO: Thank you so much, Steve Smith for such a wonderful introduction to today's event. However, my name is Hershana Ghoorhoo, I am a junior here at the School of Diplomacy. I study International Relations, Modern Languages and Philosophy. I am happy to be here today and be able to introduce Ambassador Mansour.

I am particularly excited about this event because I'm actually a research assistant at the Diplomacy lab and one of the main research projects that Professor Huddleston is working on right now looks that determination movement, separatist groups and about two states and their use of diplomacy. So, I'm very much looking forward to this discussion on the Middle East Peace Plan. It is my honor today to introduce Ambassador Riyad Mansour who is the Palestinian Representative to the United Nations. Ambassador Mansour has been involved in Palestine politics and since youth and he began his career and diplomatic service as a Permanent Observer mission of the Palestine Liberation Organization also known as the PLO to the United Nations in 1983. He was appointed Ambassador and permanent Observer of Palestine to the UN in 2005. Ambassador Mansour is also the non-resident ambassador of the State of Palestine to Costa Rica and the Dominican Republic.

But prior to joining the PLO Ambassador Mansour began his professional career as a research assistant at Youngstown State University in Ohio in 1972. From 1977 to 1983 he joined the permanent mission of the Peoples' Democratic Republic of Yemen to the United Nations in New York as a Research Advisor. In 1983 he joined the permanent

Observer mission of the PLO to the UN as a Deputy Permanent Observer at the UN headquarters in New York. Ambassador Mansour started his college education here in the United States. In 1973 he obtained his Masters of Science and Education Counseling from Youngstown State University in Ohio. In 1977 he received his PhD in Counseling with an emphasis on Research Methodologies. Dr. Mansour lectured in many American universities and has represented Palestine at numerous conferences and seminars. He is also a member of senior officials Committees of the State of Palestine and the PLO.

Please join me in welcoming Ambassador Mansour who is going to speak on the Middle East Peace plan and other pressing issues related to Palestine.

Ambassador Mansour, welcome.

RIYAD MANSOUR: Thank you very much for the introduction. Also, I want to thank the Dean and the professor who have also introduced me and to thank your fabulous institution Seton Hall University for giving me this opportunity and inviting me to be with you today.

I am intrigued by the fact that you are doing some research and self-determination in the school of diplomacy and it happened that today the community of the general assembly voted on granting the right of the Palestinians to exercise their right to self-determination by an overwhelming majority, perhaps, I think 116 countries voted yes and only 6 countries voted no, against this resolution before going to the General Assembly that it will receive additional positive votes.

Also, I have some connection to your school because one of my colleagues who was a student in your school and then became an intern with us for a while and part of our team. I believe maybe he graduated from the School of Diplomacy at Seton Hall and is now a member

of the staff of the United Nations. And another friend of mine is a special representative to the Quartet related to issues of peace in Israel and Palestine. Mr. _____ said he was a visiting Professor in your school and he wrote a book after you know finished his tenure and he is a close friend of mine, and he spent one year.

Having said all that, let me just say that not only are we committed to having peace between us and our neighbors, particularly the State of Israel, which is occupied land of the State of Palestine but we are also working tirelessly for accomplishing that _____.

In that connection we are part of a global consensus that you see in the United Nations by the overwhelming majority of its member states that calls basically for the end of the Israeli occupation that took place in 1967 that would allow for the independence of the State of Palestine, East Jerusalem as its capital, and to resolve all outstanding issues for permanent status issues, some people refer to them. Including resolving the question of Palestine refugees on the basis of international law.

There is global consensus on this solution and we are part of it. Unfortunately, the Israeli occupying authorities is not part of this consensus in the UN and from our side the fact that we are expected to establish the State of Palestine, or to acquire the independence of Palestine, twenty-two percent of historic Palestine or British mandate Palestine, should be looked at as a remarkable flexibility and realism by the Palestinian people and their leadership. We have made historic compromise; we do not see a reciprocation from the others. The International Community took upon itself and England decided to end the mandate of Palestine in 1947. Instead of England giving us independence and to engage in building the institutions of our state, to include all components of the people who lived as Palestinians up to 1947 and by that I mean the majority of the Palestinians Arabs and the minority of the Jewish Palestinians to build

together our own state after the end of the mandate of the United Kingdom, The United Kingdom decided to throw the question back in the lap of the United Nations and the United Nations took upon itself not to give us independence then but to propose ideas and to get involved in the Palestine question and decided to partition Palestine. And since the UN took upon itself to be involved in our question, not say that resolution 181 was nice because it allowed for the creation of Israel and all the resolutions of the United Nations are not nice because they propose other ideas that are tilting towards justice for the Palestinian doesn't work that way. You belong to this Organization. You honor and respect its charter and resolutions, and you honor and respect International law. Therefore if you were delighted about what the UN did for you, you should accept what the UN is trying to complete this exercise by allowing the Palestinians to exercise their right to self-determination, including the right of the independence of their own state and we accept it, as I said, that our state to be established on the border of the 1967, and that is reflected in many resolutions of the United Nations, including the last resolution adopted by the Security Council before the departure of President Barack Obama's Administration in the year 2016, in which it stated in that resolution that no changes of the border between Israel and the occupied territory, which is the border of 1967, will be recognized unless the two parties through negotiations agreed to any modifications and adjustments to these resolutions. In addition to that, international law during, including international humanitarian law, including the fourth Geneva Convention, and the statutes of the ICC, all of them indicate that settlements and transferring population of the occupied territory to the occupied land is illegal and in fact, according to the ICC, it is a war crime.

Now, we want to move in the direction of peace. International law is on our side, is on the side of justice. Relevant to UN resolutions, so many of them, including 181 in 1947, are

crystal clear in advocating a two-state solution, in 1981 it was approximately half-and-half to accepted even that our half be bisected for another half, 22 percent composing the West Bank, including East Jerusalem and the Gaza Strip, is basically the area of the land of the State of Palestine, which is not acceptable to us.

So, as I was saying, we are ready and willing to accept this kind of solution. There was a deviation from this global consensus for 3 years, since December 2017, when the administration of President Trump wanted to replace the global consensus, international law, and UN relevant resolution by the vision of President Trump and it did not receive support from 14 members of the Security Council, the overwhelming majority at the United Nations. Now with the change as of January 20 of next year of the Administration, we hope that the President-Elect Biden and his team will not only will do the necessary correction and not necessarily to go back to the position of U.S. Administration as it used to be in the past up to December 2017, but hopefully even to move further in the direction of ending this occupation, allowing our state to be independent, and therefore to mend the reality of the two-state solution where we can put our energies and efforts. both sides, in rebuilding, development, integration, and creativity where we can and to move away from options of the continuation of the conflict and confrontation and therefore to be able to have a better future for our children and their children and to concentrate our efforts to so many great things that we can do. That will be to the benefit of our people and Israeli people and entire Middle East.

Let me also say that the visit from Secretary of State Pompeo, in which he was the first US executive of state to visit an illegal settlement He visited the settlement of Psagot, I believe yesterday, and that is sending a very wrong sign and to continue deviating from traditional US policy that settlements are illegitimate, illegal and the main obstacle to peace. And the United

States not object the adoption of the Resolution 2334 in 2016 which characterized settlement as illegal and asked Israel to stop such settlements activities as being major obstacles to peace so that this last-minute additional negative step and encouraging the Israeli occupying authority continue on the path of denial different component aspect of the rights of the Palestinian does not serve peace but it serves the perpetuation of this conflict. Palestinian people will not vanish.

We've been in that land since the beginning of history, we are Canaanites. Many things happened in our land, many thoughts and ideas came, some of them influenced population, some changed things, including religions, but we are the people who stayed through all these things, all the time, including for the last 2,000 years and we cannot be treated it as if we are alien to this land and this land stayed in frozen stage for the last 2,000 years until some people came back to it. I acknowledge they are of the faith of Judaism and the majority of them from Europe specifically from Eastern Europe and while our acceptance for them to be recognized by the State of Israel to exist, they cannot say that we do not have the right to exist and we are aliens and the only people who have the right to exercise self-determination are only the Jews in the land of Israel. That is not serving peace, that is perpetuating the conflict. We are extending our hand, live and let others live but we will never accept being negated completely because we are resilient people, we are there, we are creative, we are millions in number. In fact, the number of Palestinians in the occupied territories and in Israel and in the diaspora are more than 13 million strong and, in that connection we are, in historic Palestine, our number is equal, perhaps a little bit more, than the number of the Jews in Israeli. And globally speaking our number of our people are equal to 13 million and then we are not a mirage we do exist and, in fact, in the Middle East we are, if not #1, among the top 2 or 3 countries with people that are extremely educated, so many different college degrees in all subjects. We are a very important labor force and scientific

force. Many of the countries their modern states through the participation of hundreds of thousands Palestinians. So, we do exist and we are determined to exercise our right to self-determination and have independence.

We sincerely hope that in January we will have a different climate in Washington, DC. That's why our President proposed to the Security Council and to the General Assembly in September of this year, asked the Secretary General of the United Nations to begin the process collaborating in consultation with the members of the Quartet: United States, Russia, U.N., European Union, and members of the Security Council and all concerned parties to begin the practical processes and on the basis of international law and the global consensus to convene an international conference that will open meaningful doors to ending the occupation and to actualizing the vision of the two-state solution from the borders of the 1967 naked reality. And we sincerely hope and we will work very hard all those who are willing to work with us, entire international community, to see in the Year 2021 beginning of practical steps in that direction.

I will stop here for comments and questions I will be delighted to respond. Thank you.

HERSHANA GHOORHOO: Thank you so much Mr. Ambassador for that wonderful speech. We will now take questions. So, if you want to go ahead and raise your hand using the raise-your-hand-button on the top of your screen. And then I will call upon you to ask your question or if you want to write out a question in the chat box, which is also found at the top of your screen, and I can read out your question.

So, let's start taking some questions for the Ambassador.

We have a question from Alchrór, please go ahead and unmute yourself.

ALCHOROR. Good evening Ambassador, thanks so much for joining us. My question is regarding a new administration of Joe Biden and Kamala Harris. From what we know so far, Joe

Biden said he is not going revoke Trump Administration's decision to recognize Jerusalem as the capital of Israel and the only thing that he said that U.S. will sort of take back is acknowledging the settlements of Israeli people in the West Bank as illegal under international law. What makes you think, or do you believe that the Joe Biden Administration will be any different than the previous administrations, including not only Trump Administration, but also Barack Obama and Bush Administrations?

RIYAD MANSOUR: I believe that President-Elect Biden and Vice President-Elect Harris said more than what you said, said many other things including reopening U.S. consulate in East Jerusalem that will not be part of U.S. Embassy in Israel, working directly with the State Department. They also talked about other issues related to funding systems and help with the Palestinian national authorities and also they indicated a position against annexation because it's illegal against settlement as you have indicated and the opening of offices in Washington, and host of others. But with regard to the recognition of Jerusalem as the capital of Israel and moving the Embassy from Tel Aviv to there, it has been established U.S. policy since 1948 just to let Jerusalem be aside, not to be part of either state, according to the partition plans and the two worked for a while until commission for UN peacekeeping could see how the issue of Jerusalem will be settled, and that remained to be the policy of the United States of America all the way through until December 2017 during the time of President Trump.

Of course, this is one of the issues that we discussed already with the new administration, along with many other issues. Once they are fully in place to be running the country as Government of the United States. But we are hopeful that things will be moving in relatively a positive direction. We are not expecting huge things to happen although it would be great if it did. But we will be ready and willing to engage them in very serious and detailed way all the

way to move to the direction putting to an end to this tragedy that lasted for way too long for the Palestinians for more than 100 years since the Balfour Declaration, more than 70-some years since the partition plan of 1947 and the Nakbah of the Palestinians and more than 50-some years since the occupation that took place in 1967.

We believe that enough is enough and the United States can play a very big role. Along with international community to convince Israel and the Government of the Occupying Authority to change this policy and practices and to become realistic, if they are interested in peace. We move in the direction of peace and to pay a price required for peace, as we have done when we accepted that Israel to be established 78% of historic Palestine. We are hopeful and we are ready and we will see how things unfold.

HERSHANA GHORHOO: Alright thank you for your question, Alchror. We have another question from Esther. Please go ahead and introduce yourself.

ESTHER: My name is Esther. Thank you for coming. First, I just wanted to address something you said, the majority of the Jews in Israel, more than 50% are actually from the Middle East end, North African areas like Morocco and Ethiopia and my question is, if Israel was to end the illegal settlement occupations and we were able to move forward towards a more peaceful resolution, do you think that there is a possibility that both Israel and Palestine would be able to have their capitals in Jerusalem simultaneously ?

RIYAD MANSOUR: Yes because it is according to international law and security council resolutions are part of it, and here I am referring to UN resolution 2334 it indicated that all the areas that we are occupied in _____, including East Jerusalem are occupied territories. So, for us to exercise the right self-determination, including the independence of our state we are already declaring that East Jerusalem will be the capital of

Palestine and it goes without saying that West Jerusalem will be the capital on our side. So, yes, I think we could have a capital of the two states side on the other side, although as I said, the position of the international, including the holy city, Jerusalem has to be dealt with in such a way that humanity and the entire international community will accept it and the people of faith will accept it, including the more than 2 billion Christians who have a lot at stake when it comes to the issue of Jerusalem.

Now with regards to the majority of Jews in Israel, well this is the reality that became as you describe after Israel was established. Jews in Morocco and in Iraq think of the idea of Zionism and creating a national homeland for the Jews in Palestine, that was a European idea. It facilitated through the collaboration of the British Colonialism through the Balfour Declaration. And even before the Balfour declaration, the Zionists Movement held all of its conferences in Europe and they were thinking of establishing national home for the Jews anywhere. Because if you know, since you are a student of diplomacy that during the last 200 years, there was an emergence with the industrial revolution of nationalism and this idea of nationalism was very strong. Many countries, particularly countries like Germany and went through racism and anti-Semitism in Europe, they wanted to build national states but they did not want to include European Jews in them. Then Jewish European thinkers established the Zionist Movement to establish their own national state and if you read many of the documents in the early stages of the Zionist Conferences there were ready and willing to establish their own state anyway whether in Latin America or in Africa or other parts. Until the arrival of the Balfour Declaration and the occupation of the Kingdom of Palestine as a result of the end of World War I. And the Balfour declaration specified that this national state will be created, the homeland in Palestine, and the British Colonial power helped tremendously the migration of Jews from Europe to Palestine.

What's ironic here is the double-whammy the European Jews went through. One is the anti-Semitism and the holocaust and even after that racist European thinkers did not want to keep Jews who survived the Holocaust, they wanted to get rid of them from Europe and Palestine was a place to send them. Of course it was double-whammy for the Jews and it was the Nakbah for us. And the colonial power played a big role. And the colonial power also were controlling countries from Iraq, British Colonial power or the French Colonial power, and they played their roles through a facilitate the departure of Jews from these countries to Israel and they filled them with negative feelings against the Arabs and then they were used, among others, in that continuance conflict and fighting and wars between the Israelis on one side and Arabs and Palestinians on the other. But that is the history and if we want to look at the past one can look at the past but we have to look to the present and the future and put an end to this tragedy and to create an atmosphere of positive thinking and allow Palestinians to exercise self-determination and the independence of their own state and begin the process of not feeling hostile towards each other because we were never hostile to each other, if you read the book of Professor Rashid Khalidi about Palestinian Nationalism he would describe to you in detail about the beginning waves of European settlers who came from Europe to Palestine around World War I and how in a positive way they were received by the Palestinian people and then antagonism started to emerge when they started arming themselves, building militias, insisting on segregation to build different communities for them and not to be integrated with the local population that the atmosphere started changing. I think it is --- you are a student, you are college, I assume, of diplomacy and such books from telling the narrative of the Palestinians is extremely useful for you and also the latest book as well is a very important book to studied by Palestinians so that he can see the issue of so many different angles as you indicated.

HERSHANA: All right. Thank you so much, Ambassador, for your response. I just want to point out that in case you have any follow up question or comment on the Ambassador's answers, please write it out in the text or raise your hand again and I will call you up.

So, our next question is from Zara. Zara, please go ahead and unmute yourself.

ZARA: Thank you very much, Ambassador Mansour, first of all, thank you so much for taking the time to speak to us today. So, Ambassador Mansour, my question is in regards to establishing this independence that you continuously speak about and that we're all very aware of the importance of this goal. However, I am aiming to look at this more from an economic perspective. So, I was thinking about how can Palestine possibly establish this independence economically? If we are to look at some numbers according to some 2018 studies, it looks like 58% of the imports from Israel are coming into Palestine and 80% of Palestinian exports are to Israel. So you can observe that there's a heavy reliance in economics on Israel so in order to establish that independence, wouldn't Palestine need some kind of plan that could possibly take you out of this reliance and assisted in establishing this independence that it's looking for, or do we feel like we need to approach this more from a social political aspect and eventually take it into economics? I just wanted to see your input on it.

RIYAD MANSOUR: And that's a very good observation and question. If we want to find an economic solution to this situation under occupation, one cannot find it, under occupation, the occupying power, which is Israel is, controlling our natural resources. In fact, yesterday also the second committee, the Economic Committee of the General Assembly, voted overwhelmingly in reaffirming the right of the Palestinian, their sovereign right to control their natural resources. It's not the occupying power. So as long as occupation is there, this reality will continue to tilted in favor of the occupier and poverty will be among the Palestinians and

prosperity will be much more in sight of the Israelis. And then there has been many studies indicated that the Israeli occupying forces are stealing from the Palestinian economy on the average of \$10 million annually and we believe, if we become independent and the occupation is no more and we are in control of our natural resources and control of our banking system and our ports and airports and our borders, we will be able to improve our economy substantially and we would be in such a situation that perhaps we won't need any foreign assistance for the State of Palestine. And this is another incentive for us to end the occupation and acquire independence, and we have the manpower among the Palestinians is among the top in the Middle East and if there are no restrictions as the restrictions are imposed on us by occupation, there will not be limit what we can do in terms of production, agricultural production, exporting to Arab countries and Europe and other countries creating opportunities for well-paying jobs. I think we will not be like some of the of the traditional countries that acquired independence from colonialism but they inherited a devastated economy and it is taking them a long time to rebuild. I think in the case of the State of Palestine, our example is similar to some examples that we can see all corners of the globe success stories of the economy, but we need to end the occupation and we can need to be in control all of our resources and then you will see where the Palestinian people will go and then they will build a very thriving economy and we will be able to help others and our people first and increase the income and the per capital income significantly within a short period of time.

HERSHANA: All right, thank you, Ambassador. We have another question in the chat. So, I will wade it out to you. Our question is from Rebecca and she asks so, Ambassador Mansour, I apologize if I heard you incorrectly. You comment saying that both sides of this conflict should be civil with each other and that we even have history of getting along. What is

your response to students who are members of Students For Justice in Palestine at universities across the country verbally attacking Jewish students and Jewish student groups both in person and on social media platforms? How do we avoid anti-Semitism and move towards open, friendly and healthy dialogue?

RIYAD MANSOUR: Well, I cannot get involved in how student organizations react to each other. I once upon a time I used to be a student, and I know the student groups that they are capable of reacting and acting versus others and in so many different ways. I am very familiar with that and so therefore, I cannot tell you how student organizations should behave, but anti-Semitism cannot be applicable to for example the Palestinians. This is a problem that was created in Europe and Europeans created anti-Semitism. It was not created, even by their admissions the Jews and Israelis, the Palestinians and the Jews and Palestinians lived together before 1948 in relative harmony, but look at what is really happening to Palestinians who are members of the State of Israel. After 70 something years of the creation of the State of Israel, the Israeli Knesset who adopted a law saying only Jews will be allowed to exercise some determination in Israel. What about the 25% who are not Jews in Israel? They will be deprived of that right? What about of the Palestinians who lived thousands of years who are now citizens of the State of Israel?

FEMALE: Damn.

RIYAD MANSOUR: Isn't that much more telling of the discrimination against them and anything else. I know that in Europe anti-Semitism was very, very -- it was created. In fact, sometimes I meet with European Parliamentarians they come and meet with me before the Covid-19 and then they ask what about anti-Semitism? I said to them what about it? You created it. Go and clean your house. We have nothing to do with it. It is a European

phenomenon. It was created in Europe against the Jews who were in Europe particularly in Eastern Europe and in Germany and Russia. The Jews were dealt with in the manner that we all know Spain against -- by Christians in Spain they were against the Jews and the Muslims. Where did the Jews go? They went to Morocco where they were received and accepted and then for a long period of time until a large number of them came to Israel so that notion of anyone who disagreed with Israel or who criticizes Israel is an anti-Semite, I think that this is blackmail. This is arm twisting and it doesn't serve civil discussions. We know the source for anti-Semitism. You are a college student. What happened in the Charlottesville on the campus, University of Virginia. These white supremacists, they were saying, they were chanting, chants against the Jews at the University, but not Arab students or Palestinian American students or their friends or their supporters. They are racist, anti-Semite, a product of extremism and as we know among white supremacists in this country. So, I think that we need to look at things in its main resource not to distract you from level each other and here I am referring to student groups in such a wrong way. I think that they should be united by liberties and freedoms and must stand against discrimination and against old oppression by groups that are causing these divisions, in all societies, including where you live here in the United States of America.

HERSHANA: Yes, I definitely agree with you on that one, Ambassador. So, our next question is from Timothy. Please go ahead and unmute yourself. Let's see if I can --

TIMOTHY: Can you hear me now?

HERSHANA: Yes. You're good.

TIMOTHY: All right. Thank you so much, Ambassador. I just have two things to get your clarification from. I just wish to get your take on the recent agreements that some Arabic nations have signed with Israel where it could effect you in terms of the Palestinian cause, and

secondly, the two-state solution is always the ideal and is what have been called for a long time.

What is the best alternative that is there if any from the two-state solution?

RIYAD MANSOUR: Thank you for the question. I think that you are elluding the second question about the possibility of the one state solution. You put it mildly and diplomatically, you are a student of diplomacy. I congratulate you for this cleverness, but the reality today, because of the extreme settlers communities and the extreme rightist government in Israeli is a one-state reality. One-state reality is apartheid, which means that the minority will have all the rights and suppress majority. We don't believe that that would be a working solution and we are very very familiar with many Jews in all corners of the globe including in the United States of American that they used to be part of the civil rights movement at the time of the civil rights movement. I don't believe that they will support apartheid in historic Palestine and it will create massive problems to the conscious of so many Jews who are working for justice causes. So I think that one State's solution as de facto accepting the one State reality, I think it will take us into the direction of South Africa while the reality of what happened in the past is that it ended, but of course, there will be suffering if we prolong this conflict for that period of time. I think that the best solution overall is difficult and it seems complicated now because of settlement colonization enterprise and the large number of settlers more than 700,000 will be in East Jerusalem. It appears that it prevents some that the two-state solution is not possible. I think that it is the only realistic and possible solution. We need to separate. And once we separate and accept each other as equal our own independent States then perhaps we will go through a period of time not concentrating on the hostilities, but concentrating on the positive things for operation and who knows what will happen in the future. We might _____ based on free will to possibly even merge together because look at the experience of France and

Germany during the last 100 years. World War I and World War II, France and Germany, they killed each other. More than all those in the history of wars, but yet they are the two pillars that build the European Union as we know it, which is an experiment that is very intent on the integration and unification of European countries and collaboration of many fields, including the economic and the political field. And the two of them came to the realization that they cannot continue being fixated on the millions that they killed from each other during these two wars and they are forward looking, present looking, of how much they can do in order to improve the quality of life for the French, German, Europeans, and the entire Europe, and also many countries that receive help from them especially in the south, countries of the south. So if it was done by the Germans and the French during the course of the last 100 years as two independent States, who knows if we have two separate independent States regardless of the size of the geography of each one of them, here I'm referring to the State of Palestine and the State of Israel, it's conceivable that we could do many wonderful after all the partition plan, was a plan addressed that was characterized by member States at the UN of 1947 is to address the conflict that existed between the peoples as they articulated. And they said the partition would be a temporary partition until the conditions that led to the conflict will evaporate and they added economic union between the two States. So if the founding fathers of the United Nations had that vision how to address that problem then they can build on that allowing for the separation of the other State to come into independence and not to be fixated by abstract arguments that the Palestinians did not accept 1947 and 1948 to establish their own State and therefore now you missed that opportunity. That kind of abstract discussion is not interested in peace and justice and healing and moving forward but it is interested in perpetuating the conflict. I just said that we transformed ourselves, and our leadership, into accepting reality and accepting to establish

our State in 22% of historic Palestine but once we do that and we have a few States living next to each other in peace and harmony and concentrating on positive things and not negative things, then it is very conceivable that we could if we select to be one selection by the two people why by one mechanism they agree in the future to have more collaboration and integration and to learn from the experience with Germany and France, then we could go that route; but this is maybe the younger generation. And we see the fruits of that once we must conclude the first hurdle which is to end the occupation and to allow for them to come to Palestine and you are the ones, the Palestinian youth and the Israeli youth are the ones that perhaps see the benefits of collaboration and working together and building bridges and learning from each other and limited _____ and I forgot the first question and started with the second one. Can you just give me a hint of what the first question was?

TIMOTHY: All right, the first question was to do with the recent agreements that --

RIYAD MANSOUR: Yes.

TIMOTHY: -- Israel has signed agreements with some Arabic countries.

RIYAD MANSOUR: First of all, some Arab countries that they were without declaring that they were having form of normalization but the question might be why did they do that just moments before the American election? And it seems that some of these States who pressure from the Trump administration and through lack of progress on trying to drag the Palestinians to negotiate on the basis of President Trump's vision, which is in complete contradiction with local consensus, then they created this situation in which a number of Arab countries did what they did thinking, especially President Trump administration and the key players, that that would help President Trump win the election because they are fixated on issues related to Iran. But you see some of these countries never had conflict with Israel because, you know, when you have peace

treaties its with countries that were at war or in conflict. But regardless of all of that, the key issue is the Palestinians. If there is no peace between the State of Palestine and the State of Israel, no matter what you do outside the box, then I don't want to say destruction, but it is not the major issue. Nobody can stop any government or a State from establishing relation with another State. That is a sovereign right of States, but for us, we say that when we belong to a regional organization and we agree collectively in certain positions and policies such as Arab peace initiative, then it goes without saying that we should honor it and respect it, but if some people justify under the banner of sovereign rights to do whatever they want and to move in that direction, than that is their decision. They have to live with that decision, but again, I can tell you the central question in the Middle East is Palestine. Israel can have relationships with as many countries as it can as long as they do not deal with the Palestinian people and find just solutions to the Palestine question, they haven't done much. Because if you open your door if you lived in a settlement, an illegal settlement, and when you open your window or your door, you see the Palestinians in your face. They will not leave. And they are entrenched in their land. And if you continue to suppress them, to steal their land, tho deny them their rights, you are asking for trouble. But if you want peace, then you have to find ways in order to reach agreements, to compromise, accommodation and to allow for the actualization of inalienable national rights for the Palestinians. You cannot have peace with the Palestinians when you deny their rights and imprison their children and their women and men. There are thousands of them. In fact, in every Palestinian , there is one out of four that is in prison by Israel. Almost one million of us have been incarcerated in Israeli occupation prisons. Such massive oppression and stealing land in settlement deny our rights, stealing natural resources, demolishing homes. These are not grievances. You can blame the Palestinians as much as you like but no one can

win the argument that oppressors occupier colonialist always blame the victim and all of them lost that argument at the end of the day. You cannot win the argument that the Palestinians are not global agents, we are humanbeings, but we have rights and we are struggling for these rights and until these rights are addressed and honored to the satisfaction of the Palestinian people, those who are denying them their rights are responsible for the continuation of this tragedy and conflict.

HERSHANA: All right. Thank you so much, Ambassador, for your response. We have another question from Nora. Nora, please go ahead and unmute yourself. We still cannot hear you.

NORA: Oh, I'm sorry. Can you hear me now?

HERSHANA: Yes.

NORA: Oh, hello, Ambassador Mansour. Thank you so much for --

RIYAD MANSOUR: Hi.

NORA: -- for coming to speak with us today. My question is what role do you see the U.S. playing on this issue after Trump because how come Palestine trust the U.S. anymore when every Presidency has only concerned itself with Israeli national security and hardly has ever given a serious word on Palestinian rights self-determination?

RIYAD MANSOUR: I hear you, Nora, that we suffered a lot and we were promised many times many things and never delivered. We have hope but we have to be cautious and I believe it is in the interest not only of the Palestinians people and Israelis but I think it's in the interest of the United States to be more fair, more balanced and really genuinely to go with overwhelming majority of the international community in implementing the global consensus. We all know what peace look like. End the occupation that started in '67, two States standing

side by side in peace and harmony, addressing all final status issues, including the refugees on the basis of international law, and fairness and justice with UN resolutions. What we need is not to keep dancing around the issues and managing them. We need to begin now the process now solving the conflict from the places I have indicated, in which there is global consensus including when President elect Biden, was Vice President during the administration of President Barack Obama. He knows the situation well over eight years. He knows the details. He knows what is just and we sincerely hope and we will work, not only hope, in such a way that maybe this time not to try to reinvent the wheel but this time let the wheel start rolling and to address the issue of justice and fairness for the Palestinian people which as I have indicated, we are not asking for the moon, in fact, some groups within our movement, they think that we've compromised more than enough. So, we have our own internal pressures, but we need to give our people hope. We need to give the people in Gaza not to go in the man-made huge prison, two million of them denied so many things. We need freedom. We need dignity. We need the end of occupation. So, we sincerely hope that this administration which has so many problems. But nevertheless this issue is important and what could be helpful that more than 3/4 of American Jews are supportive to the Israelis, supportive to the peace resolution, supportive to the end of occupation. They are not sympathetic to this illegal mobilization in the Gaza settlement. So that they can also play very positive role. About 75% of them voted for President-elect Biden. They are not enthusiastic about the behavior of Prime Minister Netanyahu over the years including during the time of President Barack Obama. There are many, many elements that we hope that we will not be betrayed once again and we will work so hard in order not to allow tension opportunities that we hope will present themselves to be exploited fully because we are sick and tired of _____. We deserve our own and I believe that the American people and hopefully the new

administration will be cognizant of this fact and will act and behave in such a way that will help us to accomplish the objective, end occupation and enjoy the State of Palestine with East Jerusalem as its capital.

HERSHANA: The Group has some very interesting and very diverse questions, but we have a very interesting question from Catherine who was asking about current collaborative efforts between Palestine and Israel. So, she's asking could you speak to some agreed upon progress and collaboration between the two States that have happened recently or in the past. She says she would love to hear more of the hope that Palestine and Israel can move forward together peacefully and what are some examples of progress towards that peace?

RIYAD MANSOUR: We see that when you live under occupation, you are forced to have relations with the authorities of the occupying power. They are not living in the back. They are in your face. They are the soldiers at the checkpoints. You see them. You go to the border crossings. You see them. So, you have to have some regulations of mind and to have some dealing with the occupying authority. That doesn't mean that we want to live under occupation. We want to end it. And I believe the most positive that the Israelis give us is their readiness and willingness to begin the process of negotiation but to try to keep looking for ways, to let occupation stay forever is illegal and we cannot be a part of that. Occupation is something that is awful. You are clever students with so many experiences. You cannot justify any form of shame. But somebody is oppressing a whole nation. So, we need to put an end to the study and it's not focused a lot on some practical steps that you are forced to take so you are not occupied. If you are in jail, you have to receive the food from the one who put you in prison. You have to ask him for permission to go and to take a shower and you are forcing him to have some relationship with him while you are in incarceration and you would be looking for the day to be

free and to leave that place and to make like other normal beings. So, this is our situation. We want to live in freedom. We don't want to live under the regulation of an occupying power which can tell us you are nice if you listen to me if you don't do anything or you are not nice if you say I want to end the occupation. But that situation is not sustainable. It has to end but I'm not lecturing any of you. When the 13 colonies decided to be free from British colonialism, they did the American Revolution. When all the African countries were living under colonial powers, they were starting to put an end to occupation and they acquired independence, and when we were living under the British colonial power, we were resisting until 1947 when the reality moved to the UN and the partition plan came and we all know what happened. The State of Israel came into being and the Nakbah for hundreds of thousands of Palestinians was reality. So, we want to put an end to this continuous tragedy, we need to end the occupation and to live independent and to live in freedom and dignity in our own State run by us, not run by an occupying authority. So, these are the kind of things that we should focus on, not a small step here or there and they took the taxes that they collect on our behalf and now that they will determine what belongs to us. These are small details in the scheme of things and these are things that do happen between the occupying authority and Palestinians.

HERSHANA: All right, thank you. We have another question from Sarah. I will read it out to you. Thank you, Ambassador Mansour. There have been many negotiations for a two-State solution over the years that have been rejected by the State of Palestine. Would the possibility of new negotiations on the horizon, what would make the difference that would allow for a satisfactory agreement for both Israel and Palestine?

RIYAD MANSOUR: There were no offers through all the previous negotiations for the independence of Palestine. All the negotiations in the past were over percentages of land swap

for example. No negotiations in Jerusalem. Some negotiation on the refugees and even agreement on some. Here I am referring to the Taba [Summit] with Prime Minister Barak before he lost the election to Mr. Netanyahu. All these things were ideas but none are agreement, a complete offer of yes, we are withdrawing from the land that was occupied in 1967 and let us discuss time tables of the withdrawal, and the security arrangement, UN Forces between us and them. None of these details, which were ideas that were put on the table, but none of them were agreed to between the both sides. So, the reason why we did not accomplish them was Israel was in more of a comfortable position than us. They were creating illegal facts on the ground while they were negotiating with us. Look at the settlement enterprise, and they kept saying and they kept said, oh, settlements will not be an obstacle. Seven hundred thousand and taking so much land from our land and creating these realities. Many of them are carrying weapons. So, while you negotiate and say that we are talking, you are creating illegal facts on the ground. Is Jerusalem illegally you annexed and is they said OK? We will talk about the status of Jerusalem but we annexed it. We legislate it in the Israeli Knesset. So that you see it that when you are negotiating with someone that is creating so many illegal facts on the ground and not abiding by anything, even when every time different representatives -- pardon me?

HERSHANA: We cannot see you right now.

RIYAD MANSOUR: You cannot hear me?

HERSHANA: No, we cannot see you.

RIYAD MANSOUR: Oh, I see myself here in the corner. Why can't you see me?

HERSHANA: I think it's for us it would seem that the camera is off.

RIYAD MANSOUR: My camera?

HERSHANA: Yeah, I'm not sure.

RIYAD MANSOUR: Just wait. Let me do this and do this. Do you see me now?

HERSHANA: No, we still cannot, but I think it's fine.

RIYAD MANSOUR: I think that we are reaching the end of our --

HERSHANA: Yes, so I'm sorry. I shouldn't have interrupted. Please go ahead.

RIYAD MANSOUR: So what I am saying is that all the experiences that we had is very unfortunate that we did not reach agreements. But you see that the Israeli side they need to come to the conclusions that yes, we would withdraw from this land that was occupied through 1967 and yes, we will have an agreement as to what needs to be put in that agreement in exchange of the withdrawal, the principle contained in Resolution 214, land for peace, but to keep the land and we want peace at the same time, it doesn't work. And Israel is the one who is occupying our land, it's building settlements, expanding them. They have to give us signs, willingness and readiness to withdrawal and let us negotiate the timetable for withdrawal. As it was the case that all colonial powers experiences with their colonies, but to tell us to just come on and negotiate for the sake of negotiation. We negotiated since Oslo and before Oslo at the Madrid conference for almost 30 years and our situation moved from bad to worse and yet to be blamed for not reaching an agreement must be a joke because what did not lead to an agreement, settlement, legal things, hundreds of thousands of settlers, the taking our natural resources, doing all these things, isolating Gaza. Look at the behavior not what they have articulated. So, what they say might appear that it has some logic but what they do is devastating and we should trust what they do not what they say.

HERSHANA: All right. We will now take one last question and question and that question is from Hamsa Ahmed. I will read it out to you. So Hamsa asks why are there so many

countries that are very wary to stand behind Palestine and support its agenda of recognition and independence and what role would Saudi Arabia play in this if you could place a role at all?

RIYAD MANSOUR: Well, I don't know why Hamsa is coming to the conclusion that we don't have enough countries behind us. We have about 140 countries that recognize Palestine and we have European countries, although they don't recognize the State, but they recognize the right of the State to exist and we have diplomatic representation so close to embassies of State, but slightly less. So, we have more diplomatic representation in the world than Israel itself. So, I cannot complain that countries do not support us. Just today we had the voting on our right to self-determination -- 163 voted yes, 6 voted no. So, when others are just absent for COVID reasons and this number will even increase when we go to the General Assembly. So, I cannot complain that we don't have support. Our main problem is the Israeli occupation and the unlimited support especially during the time of the Trump administration. We're talking about the most powerful country in the world. So, these are the obstacles. It's not Saudi Arabia, or this country or that country may agree on this issue, but these are minor issues not the main issues. Our problem is the occupation and the strength of the Israeli occupying authorities and strength is stemming mainly from the unlimited support by the U.S. Administration particularly President Trump administration. And let me just say thank you again and hopefully one of these days when things go back to normal under the new normal, maybe I'll come and visit your campus.

HERSHANA: Thanks so much, Ambassador Mansour, for being here. As you can see in the chat, we're seeing a lot of comments from students thanking you for taking the time and it was a very engaging session and the Q&A and we're receiving very interesting questions and I'm sure we all got to learn a lot more today about the situation.

I will now back to Dean Smith to make statements before we finish.

STEVE SMITH: Thank you very much Mr. Ambassador. We are very grateful that you were so generous in your time with us to answer an hours-worth of questions from our students. So, that's what really makes this a really wonderful learning opportunity is when diplomats, such as yourself, nominally give open remarks but also spend time engaging in conversations on a wide range of different issues. It's definitely complex topic, a challenging topic for the international community. We look forward on our campus to having ongoing conversations as we move forward to continue learning about these issues and we very appreciate not only your time with us today, but also your interest in visiting the campus once the pandemic is over. I know you have a rich service as the Palestinian representative at the UN and I'm sure there's many other areas that we can draw in in conversations with you.

And I know the students that are on the session now will hold our feet to the fire and make sure that when that invitation can go out and we can safely host you on campus, that we will continue to do so.

So, thank you Mr. Ambassador and to all of the students who joined us today, thank you for your questions. It was a very interesting conversation, not only with the Ambassador but as Hershana indicated, within the chat as well. And I think there's real potential to have some inter-student dialogue just among ourselves and in with faculty. [tape ended]

Arnold & Porter

CERTIFICATION

I, Daniel Dovev, hereby certify that the foregoing is a true and correct transcription, to the best of my ability, of the following interview of Riyadh Mansour at Seton Hall University on November 19, 2020.

In witness whereof, I hereby sign this date: February 8, 2021

Daniel J. Dovev

Signed on 2021/02/08 15:26:37 -8:00

Daniel Dovev

STATE OF MARYLAND)

SS:

COUNTY OF PRINCE GEORGE'S)

On the 8th day of February, 2021, before me, the undersigned notary public, Daniel Dovev appeared via communication technology, personally known to me to be the individual whose name is subscribed to the within instrument and acknowledged to me that he executed the same.

HAZEL A LAVARN-WALKER
NOTARY PUBLIC
PRINCE GEORGES COUNTY
MARYLAND
My Commission Expires Mar 23, 2023

Notary Stamp 2021/02/08 15:26:37 PST

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Hazel A. Lavarn-Walker

Signed on 2021/02/08 15:26:37 -8:00

Notary Public